5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

Nonpolitical social grouping.—The modern *Mapuche-Huilliche* are divided into three loosely separated classes: the wealthy, the unattached-commoners, and the poorer people working as peons on estates. Earlier, too, there was a similar loose triple division into: wealthy and caciques, commoners, and "slaves" and captives.

Personal rank and prestige was derived chiefly from martial prowess and from wealth; generous hospitality, and eloquence in speech were other well-recognized avenues to status.

There were no secret or other societies, and no formal organization of age classes. There is no tangible evidence of moieties; the term llaŭcahuin, "la mitad de una regua," given by Luis de Valdivia (1887, s.v.) in his vocabulary, hardly constitutes such evidence, problematic though the meaning of the term be. There existed a type of "blood-brotherhood" (koncho), entered into by two men with a ceremonial giving and/or killing of a lamb or other animal (Félix José, 1916, 1:93, s.v. koncho; Moesbach, 1936, pp. 389–91). Other kinds of "brotherhood" were entered into between two men, two women, or a man and woman by drinking or eating together or by exchanging presents, and between two families or tribes by the more solemn ritual killing of a lamb and eating it together and by offering prayers. (Housse, 1939, p. 208–10; cf. Guevara Silva, 1908, p. 66; Havestadt, 1883, 2:691; Smith, 1855, pp. 260–62.)

ECONOMIC LIFE

Ownership.—Our earliest specific, albeit meager, information on land tenure is from the second half of the 18th century (Molina, 1901, pp. 122, 149; Gómez de Vidaurre, 1889, 14:341); later writers have added a little but not much. (Smith, 1855, pp. 240–41; Ruíz Aldea, 1902, pp. 15, 30; Guevara Silva, 1904, pp. 38–39; Bullock, 1911, p. 3; Latcham, 1922 b, pp. 412–13; Moesbach, 1936, p. 192; McBride, 1936, pp. 308–09.) If we piece together the scanty and incomplete data available, the following outlines emerge, though none too clearly: Each family or close-kinship group claimed a given territory which had been passed on to it from its ancestors, this territory being held jointly or communally by the family or group. Land not under actual cultivation or lying temporarily fallow was communally held. Each individual—or family—had exclusive rights of use to the land claimed as fallow or under cultivation by him, and to its products, and could transmit such land to his heir or heirs. According to Smith (1855, p. 241), only the headman could dispose by sale or otherwise of clan land to Indians who were not members of the community, but all selling of land to Whites was a capital crime. Each wife in polygynous households received her own garden plot from the husband (Ruíz Aldea, 1902, p. 30; cf. Moesbach, 1936, p. 192), and kept separately the products thereof; in addition, she owned her own chickens

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

855 Cofaripe area it is a mixture of juice of the inner bark of the álamo and salt. "It smarts, but soon the teeth drop out without pain. The first set of teeth is not the real set; it must come out."

856 The child creeps before it walks; it is expected to creep when about a year old. The mother of a 2-year-old boy explained that her child's left side had been lame since birth; except for this "he should be walking by now and no longer creeping." Creeping is usually done on hands and feet. "A healthy child always crawls on all fours." An occasional child slides along on a hip; a sickly one "may slouch along, sitting down." Having been tied to a cradleboard does not incapacitate the child for creeping.

Walking is an event in human development.—So are the ability to carry out an order, puberty (which ends childhood), and marriage.—"It is an important thing in any human life to be able to walk." It is not celebrated, however. From birth until the child is able to walk, it is spoken of as "a small child" (pichiche); as soon as it walks alone, as "the small child walks now" (pichiche ŋaillai). An endearing expression used by the mother with reference to her son who has just learned to walk is "My little boy is growing up now" (pichi altaweñi); with reference to her daughter "she is little woman now" (pichi domo).

[561]

868 If a child does not walk when about two years old, it is helped to learn to do so. A 2-year-old boy was given such help during an interview. His mother supported him under his armpits while his 5-year-old sister swung one of his legs forward and then the other. Having done this a few times, she slid backward and coaxed her little brother to move toward her. The interpreter had seen a mother put a stinging insect, agrillo (kuniŋ kuniŋ), under the knee of a child that was not making a normal attempt to walk. To get away from the sting of the grillo the child took steps forward.

Sometimes a child learns to walk by being put into a small homemade 3-wheeled pushcart. The framework of the cart is of armpit height and is made of quila. It is topped off with two boards upon which the child rests its arms. The wheels are cross sections of a young tree trunk. "My sister has a little boy in such a cart now."

856 Parents take notice of a child's first laugh and first words, "and are glad the child is growing up right, but no one celebrates the events." A mother will say with joy, "Now, my baby speaks. Everybody in the family will be glad and pass the word along; it means the child is normal." Nothing was done to assist the child in developing early speech. "If we knew of anything to do, we would do it for my brother. He is older than 2 years and can speak only a few words."

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

Cognizance, however, is taken of
puberty: a prepuberty boy is spoken of as "a growing-up boy" and is 881
addressed as "little man"; after his voice has changed, he is addressed 561
as "young man" (weche wentru) and is spoken of as "single man" or
"unmarried man." A girl before her first menstruation is spoken of
as "a growing-up girl" and is addressed as "little woman"; after first
menstruation as "young woman" (üllche) and also as "unmarried
woman" or "single woman" (fücha pəra). Only an occasional mother 881
instructs a daughter regarding first menstruation and motherhood; in
instances an older sister of the girl has been known to do so. Quoting 841
Araucanian women: "We do nothing for a girl when she is that way
for the first time. Since the mother has said nothing to her girl about
it, the girl gets frightened and does not tell anyone; a girl is ashamed
to tell about it. I know a girl who was so frightened that she did not
get sick again for two years. If the mother takes notice that the girl
no longer gets her monthly, she gives her a tea of culantrillo, chukürí, [278]
and parra sylvestre; or if a girl is old enough and has not yet taken
sick, her mother gives her tea of kudün amun [unidentified]." Quot-
ing a woman in her eighties: "I know that the Mapuche mothers did
not instruct their daughters. Now that I am getting old, I have often
told young mothers to tell their 14- and 15-year-old girls about it.
When a girl does not know what has happened to her, she worries
and dries up inside. It was a Chilean girl who told me about it when
I was young; I had worried much. She said all women had it; when
I knew that, I stopped worrying."

There are no taboos regarding eating off dishes used by a men- 841
struating woman; nor is it believed that men's clothing will be con-
taminated if left in her presence.

Children by themselves and among themselves are modest. Their 834
presence at births—those of brothers and sisters only—however, would 864
hardly meet the standards of modesty set for children of our culture.
The only schoolchildren who had not been present at a birth were the
youngest in the family, who therefore had had no opportunity of
being present, or those who were too young to remember when a
younger brother or sister had been born. When they were questioned,
it was noted that children younger than 11 years promptly stood up to
signify that they had witnessed a birth—the youngest child in the
room, a 5-year-old boy, was the first to rise—but several of the boys
and girls 14 and 15 years old seemed embarrassed; they delayed stand-
ing up, and then did so reluctantly. One boy pointed at his cousin and
said, "He should get up, too; I know he was there." The boy then rose.
Schoolchildren—girls more often than boys—had also been present at
machitun, ceremonials performed over nude adult sick persons. Five
had attended one in 1946.

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

Although the amount of privacy varies from one household to the next, depending on household composition and living arrangements, it is never great. If any youngster is in doubt about the nature of the sexual act, or makes a remark indicating his ignorance, he is put straight by one of the older boys or girls of the group, usually after prolonged teasing.

Sexual intercourse is regarded as a natural part of courtship. Courtship itself is called *thungun* or *kintun*, words which connote sexual activity as well. They are sometimes used in reference to sexuality among stock animals and domesticated cats and dogs which after mating are said to be married. Other rude parallels between human and animal sexual behavior are also noted and considered humorous. A rutting bullock, for example, might be called a polygynist or a wealthy man for having so many "wives," and polygyny is generally associated with male concupiscence. It is interesting that stock animals, aside from being the subject of much discussion because of their economic and prestige value, actually provide a focus for the deliberation of sexual matters which offsets a reluctance to talk openly about human sexuality under conditions where respect should be maintained toward members of the proximate ascending generation.

Parents do not inform young children about sex and its functions and, indeed, there seems no appreciable difference in this knowledge between adolescents and their elders. Fathers counsel their adolescent sons more about honor and adult responsibilities, vaguely preparatory to their marriage, and will lay down the law regarding incest, but very little information about sexual functions passes directly from father to son. Mothers usually advise their daughters at the onset of their first menses with regard to bodily cleanliness and the care of soiled garments, but again little or nothing about sexual activity is transmitted from mother to unmarried daughter.

Hence, young people acquire their knowledge of sex through observation and direct experience. During this process they are under the censorship of their parents. There is the notion that sexual desire should not be overindulged, but it is difficult to obtain a clear statement about the limits of indulgence. Premarital sexual activity is expected to begin at about the onset of puberty, though parents restrict their children's opportunities for sexuality in an attempt to keep it within respectable bounds.

The incest barrier is theoretically immutable and its transgression unthinkable. Yet there is not complete agreement on all the relation-